its rank, or even its class as a result of events of war or of too frequent or too strong splits, sometimes decides to declare itself /163/ marabout. Piety is not indispensable for this; the tribe need only stop pillaging its neighbors and bearing arms. If some of them display the appearances of pious Moslems, learn a bit of the Koran, and wear beads, particularly if they can refer to some Arab ancestor, who formerly took refuge in the tribe, they succeed in being classed as marabouts after a certain time." (1)

1. Commander Cauvet,
Les noms des tribus Touaregs
/Names of Tuareg Tribes/,
p. 10.

In tribes which really practice their religion in a more serious way than most of the Tuareg, he continues, there is surely an instillation of foreign blood, sometimes Semitic and often earlier than the Arab invasion. Without discussing here the reasons on which Commander Cauvet stands in speaking of the infusion of Semitic blood into the Ichériffen, we shall recall what we have already said, that we were strongly struck to find persons of a Semitic appearance, particularly marked in the old man, among the Ichériffen from the region of Gao and the Kel Es-Souq of Mohamed Ouguinat.

The explorer Duveyrier, who lived for a long time among the northern Ifôra, considered them former nobles "who had abdicated any political role in the administration of the confederation in order to conquer a greater religious authority, necessary in a society where justice is represented by no power." (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 132.

He attributed to them a great moral and religious activity. It is true that certain Ifôra chiefs, like Sheik Othman who was one of

326 grubbing gardeners alike. They have turned their status as "untouchables" to their own advantage and so remain untouched.

326 Physically the smiths of the Ahaggar cover
142 the whole range of human variation between the Bush Negro type on the one hand and the Berber variety of Mediterranean on the other, but they seem to fall mostly within a highly variable category characterized in general by "European" features combined with a yellowish brown or occasionally coppery skin, thickish lips, and curly or frizzled hair. They are lean in build as a rule, but seem softer and less wiry than the more active Tuareg (fig. 57, *a*).

326 And this brings us to another exasperating
174 blank in our picture of Saharan peoples. The smiths of the Ahaggar claim to have come from the Adrar n Ifoghas and to be related to the families of smiths who live there now, and Benhazera (1908, pp. 221 and 223) reproduced an old Arabic text which states that "the smiths and the Fulani have the same mother." Cline (1937, p. 141) maintained that the art of smelting iron was introduced into the western Sudan by "camel-riding Berbers" from the North, across the Sahara. But no one really has any idea where the smiths of the Ahaggar actually did come from or when, where and from whom they first learned their trade. No one, so far as the present writer knows, has ever published measurements or blood group classifications of a single one of them, and no one seems to have found out anything to speak of about their social organization or even their kinship terminology. Not a dozen photographs of their faces are available to students. Why? Simply because the Tuareg are spectacularly romantic while the smiths are not.[13] The smiths of the Ahaggar and of the Sahara as a whole have suffered the same fate that the Spanish gypsies might have suffered had George Borrow not been born, and, like the Spanish gypsies, they are
614 disappearing fast.

565 A number of vassal clans of the Ahaggar
173 confederation are said to be of Arab or mixed

[114] [13] Here the author has laid himself wide open to a very embarrassing question. "Why," he seems to hear the frustrated reader ask, "haven't you done something to fill this aching void yourself since you find it so distressing?" The author's time in the field has been severely limited by the exigencies of writing this preliminary survey, and recently by political

2:Briggs E-4,5 (ca.1956) 1958
MS25 Tuareg MS25
[P.163B] Hoggar

141 Noses are of medium length and fairly broad, with a mean index that is high by European standards but only average for the Sahara. Ears are moderately large in size and of ordinary proportions (figs. 46–54).

142 Leblanc (1928–29, vol. 39, p. 20), again followed by Lhote (1955, pp. 162 and 165), has laid great stress on the nasal profile as the prime distinctive racial characteristic of the Tuareg. "The Targui nose," he wrote, "is high, narrow at the root, long, slightly aquiline, but never convex in its entirety as one finds among Semitic types. . . . *It ends in a narrow and drooping point*" (the italics are his). But this peculiar nasal profile does not appear to occur in females, nor is it found in all of the men by any means. In fact, the present author is inclined to think that it is probably not a heritable character at all, but merely an artificial deformation produced by the pressure of the veil which the older boys and men of the Tuareg bind, often tightly, across the lower half of the nose (fig. 26, *b*).

Unexposed skin is usually white or pale brunet. As Duveyrier (1864, p. 382) wrote, it is white in infancy but becomes quickly bronzed by exposure to the sun. The degree of tanning is extremely variable, however, and may sometimes be related to incipient blondism or rufousity on the one hand or to negroid admixture on the other.

Eye color varies normally from light to very dark brown, but blue and mixed eyes do occur occasionally in spite of all that has been said to the contrary (Leblanc, 1928–29, vol. 39, pp. 20 and 33; Lhote, 1955, p. 163). In April, 1956, Henri J. Hugot (*verb. com.*) met a Targui of

Platyrrhine (broad nosed), and his "Caspian" type as Dolichocephalic, Hypsicephalic and Leptorrhine (narrow nosed).

142 the Mouydir region who was about 5 feet 10 inches tall, and had "an ivory white skin and very pure sky-blue eyes." General Daumas (1845, p. 326) and Duveyrier (1864, p. 382) both reported blue eyes as occurring now and then among the northern Tuareg, while Saïd (1903, p. 36), Verneau (1916, p. 240) and Rodd (1926, p. 161) speak of blue and gray eyes among their southern cousins. Eyes other than brown must be really rare in the Ahaggar, however, for the author has not observed any there himself, while both Blanguernon and Pierre Cocquet (one of the oldest European inhabitants of Tamanrasset) could remember only two Tuareg men with blue or gray-blue (or light mixed?) eyes when he questioned them on this subject in November, 1955.

Hair color in adults is practically always very dark brown or black. Lhote (1955) says, however, that blond babies are not uncommon, which suggests the possible presence of a partially submerged factor for blondism. He also mentions having seen an adult male Targui of the Ajjer who had red hair and "albino eyes." Hair form varies normally from straight to curly, with a small minority in the frizzly to woolly range.

Tuareg women appear to be fairly tall, but with arms and legs of only moderate length in relation to their bodies. The few female facial measurements that have been recorded suggest that their faces are both smaller and relatively narrower than those of males—and yet, the author cannot refrain from recording his impression that the flaring malars of Tuareg women often give them a startling resemblance to Indian women of the southwestern United States and Mexico, a trait that does not seem to be shared by their menfolk. Female noses are markedly narrower than are those of men, but this again may be due only to the fact that women wear no veils.

143 The Tuareg of the Sahara, and even their cousins who live south of the Desert proper, all show typically Berber *ABO* blood group patterns which set them clearly apart from all other Saharan peoples whose blood has been examined, except for the Teda. In fact we can say that the northern and southern Tuareg, of the Ajjer country and the Aïr respectively, are "super-Berbers" in their very high *O* percentages, while the Ahaggar Tuareg,

2: Brigga E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 261]

[Pp. 252-260 not processed]

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Fig. 46. Noble Tuareg (Kel Rela) of the Ahaggar. (*After* Draper, 1931, pls. 33 and 34.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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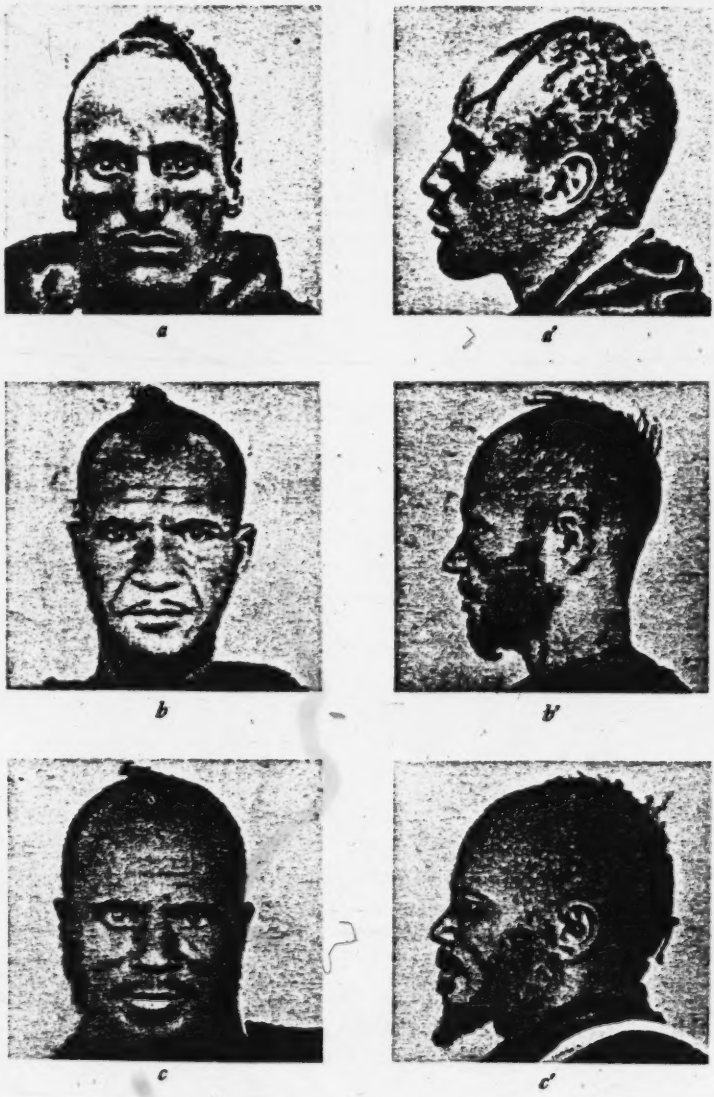

Fig. 47. Vassal Tuareg of the Ahaggar. (*After* Draper, 1931, pls. 32 and 34.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar
[P. 263]

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a *b*

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Fig. 48. Tuareg women of the Ahaggar. (Photographs: *a*, by *Life* photographer David Douglas Duncan, © *Time*, Inc.; *b*, by A. J. Weber; *c*, by P. Ichac, courtesy of the *Musée de l'Homme*.)

2: Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

[P. 264]

[Pp. 265-289 not processed]

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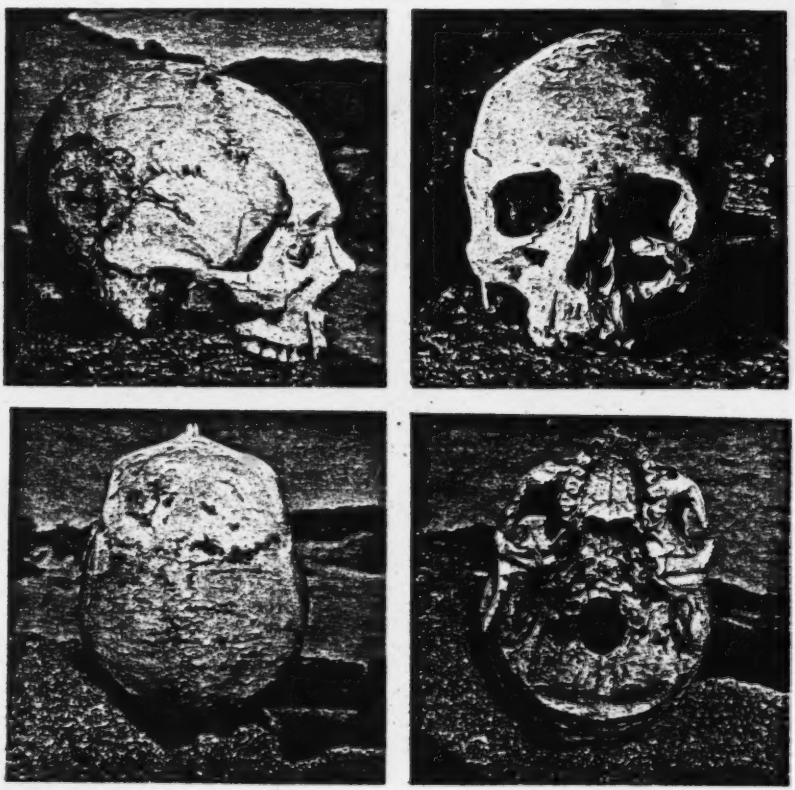

Fig. 49. The skull of a warrior of the Ahaggar Tuareg, killed at the battle of Tit (May 7, 1902), aged 25–30. (Note the extreme development of all muscular attachments, the very light wear on the teeth, and the absence of the upper third molars.) (Photographs by L. C. Briggs.)

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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17. Beyh ag Sidi Moussa, nephew of the present amenokal.

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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18. Rhama, woman of the Iklān Taoussit tribe.

[p. 203]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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22. Young harratin of Ideles.

[p. 209]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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23. A hartani type.

[p. 210]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MA25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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38. Young Targui and his black servant at Ideles.

[p. 226]

7:Nicolaisen, E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Boy of the noble class, *Kel Takabanzi* on the Niger.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

565 619 *Imrad* (sing. *Amrid*). People of this class are sometimes called "serfs" in literature, but the word "vassals" is also used. I prefer to use the latter term, but add that the word *Imrad* is most difficult to translate into an European language. The vassal class is represented in all groups with the exception of the *Kel Geres*. Among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Iwllemmeden* the word *Kel Ulli* (sing. *Agg Ulli*) is used synonymously with *Imrad*. Among south-western Tuareg around Timbuktu the word *Daga* or *Dara* is also used to designate vassals. The *Imrad* class is by far the most numerous in most groups. The relationship between these vassals (*Imrad*) and the noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren, Imajeren*) forms the basis of most political systems which are described later (p. 393 ff.).

101 565 Members of the above-mentioned classes are true Tuareg, though the word *Ineslemen* is also used for marabuts of other peoples and for marabuts of various black-skinned castes found among the Tuareg. Among the Northern Tuareg all people of the above-mentioned classes with the exception of certain *Ineslemen* or marabuts are called *Imuhar* (sing. *Amahar*). The Ayr Tuareg have no such common term to designate the people known to us as *Tuareg*, but occasionally they use generically the word *Imajeren* though strictly speaking this term should be reserved for Tuareg of the supreme noble class.

101 The word *Tuareg* (sing. *Targi*) is never used by the Tuareg themselves, but by Arabs. Duveyrier claims it to be derived from an Arabic word of the root *terek* meaning "to abandon". The meaning of the word accordingly should be "those abandoned (by God)", and should refer to the fact that many Tuareg do not follow Islamic rules very strictly (Duveyrier 1864, p. 317 f.). The same explanation has also been given to me by an Arab of the *Ulad Ba Hammu* tribe of Tidikelt. However, the origin of the word "*Tuareg*" is perhaps a different one: – It may be related to the word *Targa* (Ayr) or *Turga* (Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer), which name is used by the Tuareg to designate the part of the Sahara generally known to us by the Arabic word *Fezzan*. This is very likely, as we know from Arab authors of the Middle Ages that the word *Targa* or *Turga* was then used as a name for a very important Tuareg group living in that area and adjacent regions (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 83 f.; Foucauld 1951 52, II, p. 534; Rodd 1926a, p. 273 f.).

142 144 The Tuareg are fair-skinned people who in certain regions and particularly in the south have mixed with Negroes. The Northern Tuareg are predominantly fair-skinned, and many of them are as "white" as Europeans though perhaps a little yellowish or brownish. It is difficult to determine their exact skin colour because they are burned and tanned by the sun and the hot wind characteristic of desert climate. In addition, the Tuareg wear clothes dyed with indigo which comes off on the body, and they rarely wash. When I lived among them my own skin-colour and that of the Tuareg were practically identical. Among the Ayr Tuareg there are also many fair-skinned people, but the Ayr Tuareg are more mixed with Negroes than the Northern Tuareg, and most *Kel Ewey* are predominantly negroid. Very mixed also are the *Kel Geres* and the same seems to hold for other Tuareg groups of the south. A few blond individuals have been recorded from the *Kel Ajjer* living around the oases of Rat and Radames, and they may be the offspring of unions between Tuareg women and caravan traders of the north (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 162 f.). The blond individuals met in Southern Ayr are the offspring of the fairly numerous marriages between Frenchmen and Tuareg women, but it is claimed that a few years ago a very blond girl was born to parents of families which had never contracted marriages

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 3. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Iklan-en-tawsit* tribe.

Fig. 4. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

142 with the French. I have myself never seen a genuine blond Tuareg, but I have met a few albinos though
144 albinism seems to be rare. These observations agree with those of Lhote (1955a, p. 163). All the Tuareg
[143] I have seen had curly or straight black hair, and dark brown or almost black eyes. Many individuals had fairly broad faces with protuding cheeks which gave them superficially a mongoloid appearance,
142 while others had features more like Mediterranean Europeans. In literature the Tuareg are generally described as very tall people. I did not myself carry out anthropological measurements, but will not hesitate to state that in my opinion a great many Tuareg are far from big. Very many adult men in the groups I have visited were considerably shorter than myself (1.73 m). Tuareg men are generally dry
[147] and meagre, bearing the stamp of their roaming life in the desert. Their most outstanding quality is
[67] that of endurance and contempt of hunger and hardship. The appearance of Tuareg women is often quite different – they tend to grow fat. This is probably to some extent due to the fact that married
826 women spend most of their life in the tents and get little physical exercise. But fatness is also a sign
832 of feminine beauty, and some women make a great effort to grow fat by drinking milk or eating
[261] certain fattening plants (cf. p. 177, 178). According to some Tuareg fat women symbolize wealth – large flocks and herds, and much milk – but many Tuareg also say that they prefer fat women because they

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

826 832 142 114 get more sexual satisfaction from intercourse with them. "A fat woman is like a woman who has never known a man", they say. Some women are steatopygous though never to the same extent as women among the Bushmen and the Hottentot. Very comprehensive studies of Tuareg physical anthropology are lacking. Readers are referred to the chapter written by Lhote who has also published a brief bibliography of studies on this subject (Lhote 1955a, p. 158–170, 433), and to the recent and valuable publication by Briggs (Briggs 1958, p. 163 ff., 183 ff.).

291 The custom of Tuareg face veiling has attracted the curiosity of many scholars and travellers. Much has been written about the fact that Tuareg men wear a veil (*tagulmust* in Ahaggar, *tagulmust* in Ayr) while their women are unveiled in contrast to Arab custom. There have been given various explanations of the origin of the custom of Tuareg face veiling. Most authors refer it to hygienic conditions: the veil protects the face from sand and dust, and it prevents mouth, nose, and throat from drying up in hot weather. The fact is that the veil has the latter function, and Arab bedouins of the Sahara will also frequently veil their faces during journeys in the hot season. But the hygienic explanation is definitely not the reason why the Tuareg also veil themselves in many situations where face veiling is unpractical and unpleasant. Another explanation of the custom of face veiling is that the veil may perhaps have certain religious or magic functions. This explanation is apparently also insufficient. A [754] few Tuareg have claimed that the veil may yield protection from persons having an "evil eye" or an "evil mouth" beliefs known in Ahaggar as *tehoj*, in Ayr as *tugarchet*. But as I have stated elsewhere 291 576 (Nicolaisen 1957a, p. 112; 1961, p. 114) the proper function of face veiling seems to be a social one. [602] [604] Many Tuareg will leave their face uncovered in family camps or on journeys, but they will always cover mouth, nose, and brow in the presence of foreigners (particularly foreign women) and in the presence of their parents-in-law (particularly their mothers-in-law). Towards such persons it is also considered very indecent to show one's legs. It has been overlooked by most authors that Tuareg women wear a head-cloth (*ékerhey* in Ahaggar, *adalil* in Ayr), which is similar to the veil worn by men in form and shape. The headcloth and the veil are properly made from Sudanese indigo cotton, and both the veil and the headcloth are therefore also known as *alechchu*. It is true that Tuareg women do not veil their face by means of this headcloth in the same way as do the men. But in the presence [602] [604] of foreigners (particularly foreign men) and towards fathers-in-law the women will draw their headcloth over their mouth (cf. Fig. 297a). The man's veil and the woman's headcloth have identical social functions which is also proved by the fact that young men and women adopt veil or headcloth at initiation (Ahaggar), or at marriage (Ayr). Both the veil and the headcloth are worn by people of various black-skinned castes of Tuareg country but the custom of face veiling seems to be more strictly observed among the true Tuareg.

181 The custom of face veiling is one characteristic of all Tuareg. Another quality peculiar to all Tuareg, and particularly to those of the noble class, is their "snobbishness" as it is frequently called by many Frenchmen living at Tamanrasset and Agadez. There are a great many things a Tuareg cannot do, and there are many situations in which he will have to act in a very special way if he is to be regarded as a man worthy of respect and prestige. Tuareg attitudes to etiquette are not easily described in words. Gait, gestures, and postures are all intended to express qualities of elegance, arrogance, refinement, and strength. Vanity with regard to dress and ornaments is another characteristic of all true Tuareg.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 7. Tuareg boy of the vassal tribe *Imezzureg* in Ayr.

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Foucauld states that it does not refer to black skin-colour but only to membership of a particular caste (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 787). However, Tuareg slaves are Negroes taken during raids and warfare in the Sudan or bought from slave markets in Sudanese towns and cities. The Sudanese origin of slaves is also indicated by the Ahaggar word *Ibenheren* (sing. *Ébenher*), which term refers to a slave who speaks only a Sudanese language. It is frequently used by Northern Tuareg as an abuse of their slaves, particularly of slave children. Among the Northern Tuareg slavery is still practised with the tacit consent of the French military administration. Most Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have slaves to take care of flocks and herds and to perform various domestic tasks. These slaves live in pastoral camps of the Tuareg, and in Ahaggar they have frequently told me that they felt superior to the black-skinned agriculturists though the latter largely descend from freed slaves. In the Southern Tuareg groups slavery is officially abolished, perhaps because the Southern Tuareg are governed by civil administrators. But it seems as if the official abolition of slavery in the south was also a result of the Tuareg revolt against the French 1916–1917, and very few Ayr Tuareg have slaves nowadays. However, the manumission of slaves is not just a recent phenomenon due to European influence. Slaves have been freed long before the advent of French colonization at the beginning of our century. There are in the south whole groups of slaves who have been manumitted at an unknown date in the past, and these people are known among the Ayr Tuareg by the term *Irawélen* most of whom are nomadic stock-breeders culturally akin to true pastoral Tuareg. They are also known by the Hausa term *Buzu*, which term again corresponds to the Songay word *Béla*. This latter word, however, may sometimes refer also to people who are considered a kind of slaves by the Tuareg. Nicolas divides the freed slaves among the *Iwillemmeden* into three groups, viz. *Iklan-n-Egef*, *Irawelan*, and *Iderfan*. The two first groups comprise pastoralists also known as *Buzu*, or *Béla*, while most members of the last

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

564 region until about a hundred years ago. During the reign of the Ahaggar *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed*
[463] (1830–1877) black-skinned agriculturists of the Tidikelt oases immigrated to Ahaggar to cultivate
[567] gardens on behalf of the pastoral Tuareg. The agriculturists of Tidikelt when settled in Ahaggar were joined by many Tuareg slaves (*Iklan*) who are now free and known as *Izeggaren*, or *Ḥarratin*, like the
[191] immigrants. People of this particular caste, as a result of its mixed origin, are frequently bilingual, speaking Arabic as well as Tuareg language (*tamahaḳ*). The *Izeggaren* (*Ḥarratin*) are generally less
[142] negroid than the slaves. They are racially very mixed and many of them have certain europid features.
[142] Their skin-colour is less frequently black than dark brown, and the name *Izeggaren* (sing. *Azeggar*) refers to that particular colour. An agricultural caste identical with that of *Izeggaren* does not seem to exist in other Tuareg groups, but a negroid agricultural population of the Rat oasis known as *Ikewweren* apparently has much the same status. A few families of the agriculturists living at Abalessa in Ahaggar claim descent from *Ikewweren* immigrants.

[361] *Kel Ġanet* (sing. *W' Ġanet*). This word refers to the inhabitants of the Ġanet (Djanet) oasis in Tasilé-
[144] n-Ajjer. The population of this oasis is a very mixed one. Negroid types are prevalent but fair-skinned
[565] europid types are not uncommon. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer the *Kel Ġanet* have much the same position as
[567] Tuareg vassals (Imṛad), while in Ahaggar, where there are *Kel Ġanet* immigrants, their status is rather like that of other sedentary agriculturists mentioned above. In their homeland the *Kel Ġanet* may possess slaves like other Tuareg vassals, but those living in Ahaggar are never slave-owners.

564 *Ineden* (*Ineden* in Ahaggar) (sing. *Êned*). These are the blacksmiths who are found in all Tuareg
326 groups. They form a very important caste as Tuareg craft is little developed. The Tuareg obtain their weapons and many other implements from the blacksmiths who also make silver ornaments for Tuareg women. If it were not for the blacksmiths the Tuareg material culture would indeed be a poor one. People of the other black-skinned castes are also highly dependent upon the blacksmiths who make
[162] hoes, sickles, and the like. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg there are very few blacksmiths – only a few families who live in agricultural settlements. In Southern Tuareg groups blacksmiths are very numerous, and many of them lead a pastoral life similar to that of the true Tuareg. The origin of the
564 blacksmith caste is unknown. Many blacksmiths claim their ancestor or patron saint to be *Sidna*
173 *Dawud*, that is "Our Lord David", who is said to have lived in an eastern country near Mekka. This myth intimates Jewish descent and it is a fact that there are many Jews among smiths and goldsmiths in Northern Africa and in the Middle East. This is well documented in literature (cf. Nicolaisen 1963). A relationship between Tuareg blacksmiths and Jews is also in accordance with two traditions told about the immigration of blacksmiths to Tuareg countries:— 1) According to a tradition collected by Lhote, the blacksmiths descend from Jews who originally lived in the oasis of Temenṭiṭ in Tawat. At the end of the 15th century they were driven southwards by the Arabs (Lhote 1955a, p. 210 f.). 2) A tradition collected by Foucauld claims the blacksmiths to be Jews from Morocco. They followed Berber-speaking tribes from that area on their southwards migration along the Atlantic coast (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1300). These traditions are interesting and they do not disagree with the fact that most blacksmiths among the Northern Tuareg comparatively recently have immigrated from Ayr and
564 Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas. It is difficult to state the original racial position of the blacksmiths. Though most of
144 them are predominantly negroid there are also rather europid types among them, and Tuareg of Ayr

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 10. Young man of the sedentary *Kel Ǧanet* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. He is yet too young to wear the veil which is used also by these Tuareg-speaking people of Ganet.

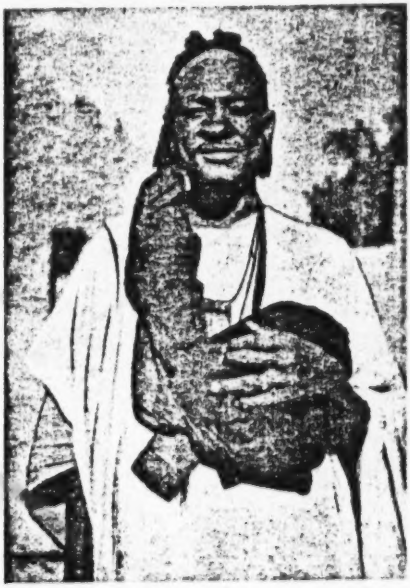

Fig. 11. Unveiled blacksmith. His racial features are predominantly negroid though his skin colour is yellow-brown rather than black. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

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From Ayr Tuareg who had much contact with blacksmiths I collected the following words of *ténet* language:—

ténet	*tamachek*	*English*
wochimbagen	*ineden*	blacksmiths
wosilkum	*echink*	porridge
tikulkumin (pl.)	*tikammarin*	cheese
ohundegan	*aman*	water
ogera	*ẹṛef*	head
tokonderey	*timezzugin*	ears
tedroragen	*titawin*	eyes

Prasse is of the opinion that the secret language of the blacksmiths is a kind of slang consisting of circumlocutions of everyday words, but derived from nothing but the local dialect itself. He suggests the following tentative interpretations of some of the words I have noted:— *wa chenbeyen* = "the blackheaded one"; *wa s ilkem* = "the one it follows" or: "sticks to"; *agera* = "leather bag".

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

But pastoralists of Arab descent are limited to a few scattered individuals or families in the Ayr area in contrast to the extended Sudanese country around the Niger, where whole pastoral tribes claim patrilineal descent from Arabs, while matrilineally most of them are Tuareg. 101 563

There are many other people within the extended country inhabited by the Tuareg. Very important in the south is a numerous population of Hausa-speaking Negroes. The so-called *Imeggedezen* (sing. *Ameggedez*) of Agadez speak Hausa which language is spoken by various other sedentary people of that region and further south. There are also a few Sonray-speaking people at Agadez, and Ingal further west is predominantly inhabited by Sonray-speakers known to the Ayr Tuareg as *Isawereŋ*. The Sonray, as is well known, are now found almost exclusively along the Niger, but Ayr was once conquered by the Sonray, and Barth describes Agadez as a Sonray-speaking city. [197]

In the south the pastoral Fulani are now invading the grazing grounds formerly reserved to and owned by the Tuareg. Camps of pastoral Fulani are frequently seen nowadays even as far north as the southern outskirts of the Ayr Massif around Agadez and Ingal. When grazing is good the Fulani may even move further north into the Talaḳ plains with their herds of long-horned cattle. Many other people are frequently met in Tuareg country, e.g. the Tebu, and the Kanuri, who frequently come to Agadez. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer there are even a few individuals who descend from Tebu women.

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Fig. 13. Mother and son. Slaves of the Tuareg in Ayr.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

292 ceremonial ridings as those described on p. 104 f. I have been informed both in Ahaggar and in Ayr that bandoleers were used exclusively for such purposes. Rodd depicts a rock-drawing from Timia in Ayr and believes that it perhaps represents a man wearing a bandoleer (Rood 1926a, p. 194, pl. 40 p. 305). This may be so, but I have been told by Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group that bandoleers were introduced among the Ayr Tuareg by the French when they formed the camel patrol made up of Tuareg from different Ayr tribes. However, my informants also claimed that the use of bandoleers for camel riders was an ancient custom in the north among the Ahaggar Tuareg, from where it was introduced to Ayr by the French. Informants of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer told me that the custom was traditional to noble Tuareg but not to vassals, though Tuareg of the vassal class also wear bandoleers nowadays.

291 Apart from the head-cloth (*ékerhey*) the following garments are typical of Northern Tuareg women:— (1) *tékamist*, that is a large and wide shirt of cotton, in form and cut identical with the man's shirt; (2) *asegbes*, a large piece of cotton used for a skirt or a petticoat; this is fixed tightly around the waist merely by folding it at the upper edge; (3) *tikest*, a large piece of cotton worn as a shawl over the shoulders and head, covering the head-cloth.

In addition to the head-cloth (*adalil*), which they frequently wear rolled up on the top of the head, Tuareg women of the *Kel Ferwan* group wear three main garments:— (1) *aftek*, a very short shirt of poncho cut. It is very akin to the shirt worn by Hausa-speaking women of Agadez, who use the words

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Fig. 237. Slave-boy wearing the loin-cloth depicted above Fig. 238. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Songhai MS20

or two arches according to its size. The arches are known as *igagan* (sing. *agẓgu*). They consist of several rods lashed together with plant material. According to Nicolas, these tents are used by semi-nomads and also by members of the *Kel Ansar* tribe who live half of the year in the southern agricultural zone where they use mat tents. The rest of the time these Tuareg live in skin tents which form the traditional dwelling of the *Kel Dennek* (Nicolas 1938, p. 62; 1950a, p. 156 f.).

Many other authors have mentioned the existence of mat tents of arch construction in Southern Tuareg country, but no description of their structure has so far been furnished.

Barth states that Tagāma and many vassals of the *Iwllemmeden* have portable huts covered with mats (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372 f.). He adds that the inhabitants of these dwellings have fairer skins than the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 597 f.). Barth also mentions the occurrence of mat-covered dwellings at an Issábegen camp on the Niger between Burem and Gao. These dwellings belonged to Arabs of the *Bū 'Alī* tribe, and to Tuareg of the *Kel-e'-Sṭūk*. The mat-covered huts had two openings turning north and south (Barth 1857–58, V, p. 201).

Hourst depicts mat-covered arched dwellings at Rhergo on the Niger. One of his photographs shows a hut which, judging its outer form, is perhaps identical with the mat-covered tent of the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*. The dwellings depicted by Hourst belonged to dark-skinned cherifs of the noble Tuareg tribe called *Igwadaren* (Hourst 1898, p. 105 ff., 133).

Chudeau depicts mat-covered arched dwellings belonging to the *Bélla* of the Niger. These dwellings apparently belong to the *éwerwer* type (cf. p. 350 f.) (Chudeau 1909, p. XXXII–XXXIII p. 218).

Delafosse states that the Tuareg have hemispherical dwellings covered with mats (Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334).

Le Coeur has seen mat-covered arched dwellings at Gao and at Tabankort south-west of Aḍraṛ of the Ifoṛas (Le Coeur 1937, p. 42 f.), and a photograph in the collection of Musée de l'homme seems to indicate that such dwellings are found in "Adrar Nigritien" (Collection Photographique du Musée de l'homme, Cl. Nieger, 34.1105).

Gabus says that among the Tuareg of the Niger the *Bélla* live in mat-covered tents. The noble Tuareg have skin tents, but they live in mat-covered tents or in straw-huts during the months of April, May, and June (Gabus 1945, p. 361).

We can add that the Soṇṛay, who live within the Southern Tuareg country along the Niger, also largely use mat-covered arched dwellings. This is richly documented in literature:— Barth 1857–58, V, p. 160, 163, 165 f.; Dubois 1897, p. 232 f. & 1911, p. 33; Aymard 1908, p. 183 & 1911, p. 144 pl. 25; Olufsen 1928, p. 137; Urvoy 1942, pl. II, 3; Gabus 1948a, p. 10 & 1948b, p. 15; Prost 1954, p. 184 ff.; Rouch 1954, p. 31 f.). These barrel-vaulted mat-covered dwellings of the Soṇṛay do not seem to be structurally identical with those used among pastoral Tuareg – for they seem to lack the horizontal cross-bars at the narrow sides. The mat-covered huts or tents I saw between Niamey and Ayoru along the Niger were covered with a kind of *éwerwer* mats and almost hemispherical in form – like two mat-covered huts (from the Woggo and the Kurtey) which are now in the IFAN Museum at Niamey. Gabus states as his opinion that the Soṇṛay dwellings are related to Tuareg mat tents by which they have been strongly influenced (Gabus 1948a, p. 10 & 1948b, p. 15). I believe that their origin may perhaps be explained by the fact that the Soṇṛay have been culturally influenced by Tuareg invaders